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BEING THE SIXTH NUMBER OF VOLUME I.

AN ADDRESS

TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

AT the end of that diſaſtrous war which ſeparated the moſt flouriſhing colonies, that had been ſent forth by any nation, ancient or modern, from the mother country, every patriotic Engliſhman ſaw that event with regret. It was paſt. It could not be recalled. To make the beſt of an ill managed buſineſs; to turn ſeeming evil to our advantage; and to endeavour to regain the eſteem and confidence of America, could be the only deſire of every wiſe man, who wiſhed well to the two countries.

In the preſent political ſtate of Great Britain, which is manufacturing and commercial, we cannot exiſt, but by a connection with foreign nations: we live by our foreign cuſtomers: take them away, and the whole face of our affairs would be totally changed. No doubt, if Great Britain were to live within herſelf, ſhe would ſtill be a powerful empire, and command reſpect among the nations of Europe; but the revolution that would take place on ſuch an event would produce a temporary ruin to the preſent generation: therefore, every wellwiſher to his country would be ſorry to ſee ſo great a change, and muſt be deſirous of ſupporting our commercial and manufacturing eſtabliſhments; and, of courſe, to preſerve ſo valuable a cuſtomer as America.

It is of little importance to Engliſhmen what laws the Americans are governed by, conſidered in the abſtract; but it is of the utmoſt conſequence, whether they will continue to be our cuſtomers. The population of that country is increaſing with greater rapidity than any other Quarter of the Globe: though I believe their politicians are too ſanguine in their expectations on that head; and, have founded their data on wrong principles: nevertheleſs, it muſt be confeſſed that population will proceed rapidly, even if their government ſhould (as they have done) check the progreſs of nature: and, ſhall we deſpiſe a ſet of cuſtomers who are continually

tinually multiplying, or throw any difficulties in the way of our mutual friendſhip?

At the cloſe of the war, every one believed that if we could ſecure the excluſive trade of America, that there was nothing loſt by the conteſt: but the difficulty lay in ſecuring that trade. France, our natural enemy; Germany to whom America is indebted for the moſt induſtrious part of her citizens; and the Eaſt-Indies, from which we are not able to exclude them, are manufacturing nations which were likely to ſhare in the trade of that great continent. Nothing remained for Great Britain, but to endeavour to gain an influence in the councils of her late colonies, now become independent ſtates. But when we conſider the nature of the governments exerciſed over that country, nothing could be conceived more difficult. Thirteen independent governments, and ſeveral more, in embryo, could not be eaſily influenced by foreign councils. The general government, or what was then called "the continental congreſs" had very little power to enforce its ordinances.

So that that government, had no more virtual power over the ſtates, than what Great Britain expected to regain; viz. an influence over their councils; and, an attention in them, to its recommendations. It was therefore the intereſt, as it was the deſign of Great Britain, to endeavour to concentrate the powers of government

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as much as poſſible in the congreſs, eſpecially that part of it which relates to foreign nations: ſuch as, the power of making treaties, and laying impoſts. That object being gained, there would then be a point at which we might direct our artillery. At that time nothing was to be done but by the inſinuation and addreſs of our old friends the loyaliſts; whom, it was well known, conſiſted of nearly half the American people: for, we had on our ſide, not only thoſe, who had, like truly loyal ſubjects, fought againſt independence, but all thoſe, who, hating the anarchy of republicaniſm, wiſhed for a government ſimilar to England, a limited monarchy; all theſe, and they are the moſt reſpectable for wealth, learning and influence, were on our ſide and ſeconded our views in bringing the government to one focus: they, that they might obtain honours, rank and power, and we, (Great Britain), that we might have a point on which to erect our influential engine, which, like that contemplated by Archimedes, ſhould move the earth.

What ſeconded all our views, in a kind of miraculous manner, was that diſtraction which naturally follows all great revolutions in government. The ſovereign people (as, I believe, every ſovereign people will always be) were divided. One party contended about forms of government: and the other, aſſiduouſly ſought after private intereſt, deſpiſing thoſe who looked farther than perſonal aggrandizement. Each of

of theſe parties again, ſhot out into innumerable ramifications, of which it is needleſs for me at preſent to give the detail. The moſt prominent however among the *politicians* were the republicans and limited monarchiſts; and among the *ſelfiſh* there was a ſtrange contrariety of efforts which at leaſt deſerve ſome notice, as it ſhews the diſaſtrous effects of ſudden changes in government. The ſovereign people, tag rag and bob tail, men of information, and men of no information, finding themſelves in poſſeſſion of immenſe tracts of back country; of the free navigation of the ocean, from which they had been, in ſome meaſure, for their own good, reſtricted; in poſſeſſion of the privilege of manufacturing for themſelves, from which alſo they had been wiſely reſtrained, that they might be employed in more profitable occupations, without claſhing with the intereſt of the mother country: finding themſelves, I ſay, in poſſeſſion of theſe new acquirements, every one of the *ſelfiſh* thought of nothing but realizing immenſe fortunes in a ſhort time.

On one ſide was ſeen the ſpeculators in land. Vain would it be for me to deſcribe their exaggerated hopes. In the fanciful viſions which their own imaginations created, they ſaw all the nobility of Europe driven from that quarter of the globe, by the "volcanic irruptions" of liberty and equality, which then began to make its appearance, pouring their riches into America, and purchaſing their back land. The

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value of ſome of thoſe lands, in particular ſituations, had abſolutely increaſed fifty fold; and, according to yankee reaſoning, ſuch would be the proportional increaſe for ages. American lands were offered for ſale in every capital city in Europe; and many Europeans become the dupes of American ſwindlers. We have only to rejoice that thoſe dupes were generally the outcaſts of European countries, who were entrapped in cobwebs of their own weaving. How much muſt it not gladden the heart of every true born Engliſhman, zealous for his king and country, and happy in the union of church and ſtate, when I inform them, that the arch traitor Prieſtley was one of thoſe dupes: and that his fortune, formerly employed with too much ſucceſs to ſap the foundation of every thing noble and grand in the fabric of our Gothic inſtitutions, is now pocketed by an American land ſpeculating-ſwindler; and, that all that remains to him of his former greatneſs, is ſome twenty or thirty thouſand acres of land ſituated among rocks and dreadful precipices, 40 miles from any habitation, and yet untrodden by the foot of man. And as for poor Cooper, his coadjutor, though it is almoſt impoſſible he could ſuffer too much for publiſhing that infamous lying pamphlet in 1794, with a view of inveigling, kidnapping and trepanning his majeſty's liege ſubjects from a happy mediocrity, obtained by moderate labour, in the boſom of civil ſociety, to the wilds of Northumbra-Pennſylvania, inhabited by wild beaſts, and men

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worſe than ſavages, men under whoſe inhoſpitable roof no man ever entered but to be ſwindled: Poor Cooper! is at this moment languiſhing in Pennſylvania jail, a victim of the perfidy of his neighbours and of the American "chief who now commands."

True born Britons! you in whoſe nature a vindictive ſpirit never entered, could you wiſh to ſee your enemies, thoſe enemies bred in your own boſom, meet a more juſt retribution for their crimes.

But what adds to the meaſure of their calamities, is, that they are hated and deſpiſed by the American people, who, ignorant of their talents, ſee in them only the diſorganizers and deſtroyers of all government. But who, my dear countrymen, inflicted the laſt part of their puniſhment—Peter Porcupine is the man: he it was that held them up as traitors, parricides and athieſts to America, and repreſented their philoſophy as the breath of peſtilence to every civil ſociety.

But the Americans themſelves alſo fell into their own toils: Europeans were ſoon undeceived with reſpect to the quality of the lands; and, therefore immenſe tracts of mountain lay unſold, and abſorbed that capital, which might have been employed in improving improvable lands, and was the ruin of many an American land jobber.

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Another claſs of ſovereign citizens were thoſe who dreamt of making their fortunes by trading with foreign nations: but, there being little money in the country (the ſpecie having been exhauſted in the war) it was reſerved for our pretended friends only, who could obtain credit in England, to commence that undertaking. So have I ſeen two ſoldiers, in the barracks at Halifax, on the day before pay day, the one having bilked the landlady durſt not aſk for more credit; the other, equally guilty, but who had not been ſeen in the nefarious tranſaction, had the impudence to run his face for a pint of whiſkey.—In the ſame manner, thoſe cowardly tories, who, wiſhing well to England, had not the courage to fight for her, now had the impudence to ſolicit credit from that country whom they had treacherouſly oppoſed by ſtanding neuter on the day of trial. The Engliſh merchants and manufacturers are not ſcrupulous about giving credit. The quakers in Pennſylvania, and our friends in other ſtates, met with ſucceſs in their firſt undertaking beyond example, and equal to the firſt ſpeculators in land; ſo that it was difficult to determine which was the moſt profitable ſpeculation: ſome of theſe adventurers, with a view of making the moſt of every thing, ſold whole cargoes of Engliſh goods for half their original coſt, in order to ſpeculate in the purchaſe of back lands: but the lands remain unſold; the creditors in England unpaid, and the debtor or ſpeculator, run away, injail, or become bankrupt.

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The third claſs of ſelfiſh men produced by the revolution were thoſe who directed their attention to manufacturing. It was ſuppoſed that the legiſlatures would make laws favourable to their intereſt, in order to raiſe America from a *nominal* to a *real* independence; and, the ſtate legiſlatures ſeemed, at that time, to ſecond their views. This was an enterprize, the moſt ſerious that could ariſe, to the intereſts of England, and various were the ſchemes attempted by our agents to ſtrangle the infant Hercules in the cradle. It has been accompliſhed equal to our moſt ſanguine wiſhes. In the other ſpeculations thouſands were ruined, but thouſands alſo made immenſe fortunes: But, fortunately for Great Britain, in the manufacturing projects, there was a general wreck: not an individual was ſaved; and ſuch is now, happily, the diſlike to thoſe undertakings, that this generation muſt paſs away, before any attempts will be made to revive them.

Previous to the revolution America could not manufacture a hob-nail for her own uſe; this prohibition was the effect of a Britiſh act of parliament: and the folly of American projectors has prolonged that prohibition which the omnipotence of our parliament attempted in vain. Such is the almighty power of ſilent ever-wakeful Britiſh influence. After America had ſpilt the blood of her braveſt men, in a conteſt for ſeven years to obtain independence, it was rendered a mere bubble by the intriguing

genius of Engliſhmen, and their friends, diſperſed through the ſtates. The tories have no talents for the field, but in the cabinet their powers are wonderful. The overthrow of theſe manufacturing eſtabliſhments muſt be conſidered as a *chef d'œuvre ;* whether we regard the means by which it was accompliſhed, or the grand end that was ſteadily kept in view ; (viz.) to keep faſt hold of the ſkirts of the garments of Columbia, and let her on no account go. As to the *means* of deſtruction, it was various, as the character of the owners, the ſituation, or nature of the eſtabliſhments. Sometimes by fire ; but moſt generally by inundating the markets with goods of the ſame manufacture from this country, and ſelling them far below the prime coſt, in order to drive American manufactures out of their own market. Another method was, to recommend Engliſh artiſts of no talents to their notice, as men of the firſt rate abilities. But what favoured us more than any thing elſe was, the war that broke out about this time betwixt France and England. The manufacturies of France were cut up. Thoſe demagogues who had ſeized the reins of government in that country, totally ignorant of the mode of warfare that ought to have been purſued againſt us, ſuffered their own manufacturies to dwindle, whilſt ours gained ſtrength by their downfal. It was completely in their power, at one time, to have crippled our cotton manufacture, by haraſſing the tranſportation of cotton wool ; and guarding with vigilance

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thoſe places from whence we have the beſt ſupply: by this means the Brazil and Surinam cotton, without which we cannot make our fineſt muſlins, might have been raiſed ſo high in the foreign market as to prevent their conſumption: or, even at times, by a ſcarcity, throw half the Scots and Mancheſter manufacturies idle for want of wool. But what did theſe French demagogues do? by ſetting the blacks at liberty in the Weſt-Indies, the war whoop was raiſed, which drove to the Atlantic ſhores 20,000 Frenchmen, and ſilver in ſpecie to the amount of 40 millions of dollars; a ſum which at leaſt doubled the ſpecie in the United States, the conſequence of which was, that the price of manual labour, and every article of conſumption was doubled. Thus, a ſtate of things was introduced, which made it impoſſible for the infant manufacturies of America to contend with the old eſtabliſhed ones of England.

During this period of ſpeculation we are now ſpeaking of, there aroſe a ſet of ſwindlers of a new deſcription; the nature of whoſe villany, the goodneſs of our laws make us totally unacquainted with, theſe men ſet about projecting ſome internal improvement upon the face of the country, for the general accommodation of the ſovereign people, ſuch as canals, bridges, quays, manufacturies, turnpike roads, &c. of which America is greatly deſtitute: in ſhort, every project that a fertile imagination could conceive, was to be executed by a *lottery*; every

body, young and old, rich and poor, who could raiſe ten dollars, from Vermont to Georgia, were ſubſcribers to ſome one or other of theſe lotteries, in hopes of making ſudden and rapid fortunes. But they all turned out no more than a bag of moonſhine: ſome of theſe lotteries were never drawn; ſome ſeven years in drawing, and others, after they had been drawn, the prizes could never be known, or if known obtained. It was in vain to proſecute them; they ſhifted the blame from one to another, and the only perſon allowed to be reſponſible, you would find either in jail, or dead, or run away.

But the moſt barefaced, ſhameleſs, hardened villain that I ever heard of, who had any connection with theſe lotteries was one Blodget. Although it was notorious that he had ſwindled the proprietors of Waſhington lottery tickets, to the amount of 50,000 dollars, he had ſtill the impudence to thruſt himſelf into the beſt company (but the beſt is no great things) in Philadelphia. Many a time I have had a month's mind to kick the raſcal out of my ſhop, when he came there ſkulking, and claiming an acquaintance, on account of the ſimilarity of our political opinions. I thought ſuch a fellow would diſgrace any opinions; and ſo it would any where but in Philadelphia. But as I was then ſhooting at higher game, in which the puppy might be ſerviceable, I thought it beſt to let him ſometimes trot at my heels, coupled

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to parſon Abercrombie, or any other of the ſpaniel tribe.

Could you have imagined, my dear countrymen, that in America, where there are plenty of lands to cultivate, and where it is in the power of any young induſtrious man to acquire a decent farm of his own, that the whole continent, from one end to the other, ſhould be taken up in ſuch wild ſpeculations as I have deſcribed? Was it poſſible for you to think, that thoſe very manufacturies, by which you have gained ſuch immenſe riches, and eclipſed every other nation, ſhould be totally deſpiſed by the people: diſcouraged by the legiſlatures; and, conſequently, the ruin of thoſe who engaged in them? Such is, however, the fact, and you may rejoice in it; if they are fools you reap the advantage of that folly: and there is *now* no hazard in declaring it. Their opinions of commerce, the arts and agriculture, are fixed into prejudices, which nothing but poverty and a new generation can efface: yes! when they become ſo poor that they are unable to purchaſe your manufactures, they will then ceaſe to purchaſe them, but not till then. When they are become ſo poor, as not to be able to eſtabliſh manufacturies, then they will think of eſtabliſhing them; but not till then.—They ſay, "How can we ever be poor, while we have ſo much land!" but they might conſider that land is not riches, until it be cultivated; and that there is no encouragement for cultivation when the

the produce coſts as much to bring it to market as it is worth; that manufacturies bring the market to the farmer's door; and draws the farms cloſer together; whereas a want of theſe, keeps the cultivators aſunder, and makes them occupy a greater ſpace of ground.

When you contemplate America at a diſtance, you are apt to figure to yourſelves a country, where the people are pleaſed with a rural life, and that in their houſes peace, honeſty, and ſimplicity reigns; that their hoſpitality to ſtrangers is unbounded, and that they have no occaſion to uſe any low cunning or craft in the way of bargaining, for the ſake of a trifling gain: but, be not deceived, the very reverſe of this, would be a genuine picture of the American character.

Having thus taken a curſory view of the *ſelfiſh* party, we ſhall turn again to the views of the politicians, and their formations into parties. It cannot be denied, that, a conſiderable portion of the people of North America, notwithſtanding their love of *independence*, were prejudiced in favour of a limited monarchy, ſimilar to that of Great Britain. Under the protection of our government, they had arrived at a more perfect ſtate of civil liberty than the colonies of any other European nation. When they turned their eyes to Mexico, Peru, the Brazils or any of the Antilles, nothing was to be ſeen but ſlavery, under various garbs: the human

human mind held in bondage, and prevented from developing its powers. Whereas Anglo-America, had no other appearance of being a new country, than the extent of uncultivated land, and the want of ſome of thoſe Gothic ornaments which indicate the antiquity of ſome of our inſtitutions. In England we have laws, cuſtoms and uſages, whoſe origin is ſo wrapt up in the dark ages, that it is impoſſible for human ingenuity to trace them to their ſource; whereas in the United States—though man and his prejudices be the ſame as in Europe—yet this circumſtance gives it the appearance of a new country, that not any family, or opinion, or religion, has yet obtained a pre-eminence over another; and therefore, upon the whole, our late colonies has more the reſemblance of an engrafted branch, from an old trunk, which immediately gives fruit, than a plant raiſed from ſeed, which yields no fruit for many years. The learned, therefore, amongſt our former coloniſts, were able to know, and appreciate, the value of our glorious conſtitution; and, (like a good apprentice, who, though he is not willing to ſerve longer than the term of his apprenticeſhip, is, nevertheleſs, deſirous of following the ſame trade after the example of his maſter, who has been enriched by the calling) were determined, without venturing on new ground, to have a conſtitution of government ſimilar to our own. On the other hand, their revolution not being the work of one man, or even body of men (though Waſhington occupies a conſpicuous

ſpicuous nich in the edifice), it was difficult to determine who ſhould be the head of the ſtructure, or fill up the intermediate grades from him to the people. It was evident that to form ſuch an arrangement, and to chooſe from ſuch an infinite number of pretenſions, would cauſe great heart-burnings, and produce more foes than friends.

The leaders of an army in time of war, are not always qualified to guide the councils of a nation in peace; and thoſe who know the character of the American officers, muſt acknowledge, with due deference to their bravery, that they were no more capable of exerciſing the civil offices in a ſtate, generally, than the tavern keepers of England would be fit to ſucceed the lords and commons. For theſe reaſons, the wiſhes of ſenſible Americans, with reſpect to their future ſyſtem of government was ſuſpended for a time; or, until the ſoldiers ſhould mix into the maſs of citizens, and be forgotten, or no longer regarded.

It was in vain to ſtifle the pretenſions of thoſe men who had ſtood forward in the revolution. They had been active and attentive to the intereſts of America; and it was not eaſy, whatever might be their talents, to command them into ſilence; or that their companions in arms, ſhould tell them not to intermeddle in the affairs of that country whom they equally had endeavoured to emancipate: hence the origin

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of the two political parties, which agitate North America. The republicans appeared to be the ſtrongeſt; and to have the beſt reaſons on their ſide; becauſe republican inſtitutions were already formed throughout the ſtates; the greater number of officers, both in the militia and civil departments, being elected by the people; a ſyſtem which is eternally ſtanding in oppoſition to, and controlling the beſt concerted ſchemes of the ſtateſman. The monarchiſts, again, were powerful by their talents, their riches, and by their connections with Great Britain; and, above all, by the influence of Waſhington, who ſecretly inclined that way. To one or other of theſe parties, each of the *ſelfiſh* ranged themſelves, as intereſt directed. The merchants were unanimouſly in favour of monarchy, and an intimate connection with Great Britain—becauſe, from that country, they gained their credit and riches.

The land ſpeculators were alſo for monarchy, becauſe to that form of government an ariſtocracy is a neceſſary appendage. And, who, I may aſk, is ſo proper to be created dukes, and earls, and peers, as men of great landed property? Each of theſe, therefore, having an imaginary coronet on his head, deſpiſed the maſs of the people; and were eager to aſſiſt, or ſecond the views of Great Britain, in concentrating the powers of the American government.

It was, however, in my opinion, diametrically oppoſite to the intereſt of the land ſpeculators to promote a connection with our country; population ought to have been their ſole object; for we know that commerce, without the arts, gives no great or laſting ſpring to population. But the love of honours and the luſt of power dazzled the underſtandings of theſe men; and we have ſeen them laying obſtructions in the way of population, by rendering emigrations diſadvantageous; and ſeconding the views of this country, becauſe our partizans favoured their ariſtocratic projects.

As to thoſe who had undertaken manufactures, they were generally favourable to republican principles; but were equally zealous to give greater powers to the general government; hoping, that ſuch reſtrictions would be laid on the importation of foreign goods, as to encourage their infant undertakings, and keep the ſpecie in the country.

All parties were therefore zealous to ſtrengthen and extend the powers of the general government; and there was no diviſion, except as to the *extent* of thoſe powers. The friends of Great Britain had no other motive for preferring a monarchy to any other form of government, than the facility which that form would give to eſtabliſh and continue an influence, ſo neceſſary to ſupport our trade with the ſtates.

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When the federal government was formed, it was, for all theſe reaſons, hardly what any of the parties wiſhed it to be. It was the beſt however that any of them could obtain. It was a conſtitution made up of compromiſes. But what pleaſed our party, and the parties who ſeconded our views, was, that it contained ſome doubtful clauſes, which a preſident, under our influence, might eaſily conſtrue to mean more than met the eye. Again, the treaty-making power being lodged almoſt entirely in the preſident, pointed out to us the place to which we ought to direct our artillery. Moreover, by this inſtrument, treaties are declared to be the *ſupreme law* of the land, which already has been interpreted to mean, that they are ſuperior to the laws of congreſs, and that when the one comes in competition with the other, the laws of congreſs muſt cede to the treaty. Here was a great point gained: George III. and John Adams, if they are agreed, can make laws to bind America *in all caſes whatsoever*, and we all know that as long as a king of England has a million of ſecret ſervice money, a preſident of America will never be found who could find in his heart to diſagree from ſo amiable a monarch. Some people are indeed of opinion that ſhould Jefferſon ſucceed to that office he would be above a br-be, and I myſelf have ſome reaſon to believe it; but of ſuch an event there is not the ſmalleſt probability.

The whole electors for preſident and vice-

preſident are only about 130; which at 5000 dollars each, makes only 650,000 dollars; a ſum not worth mentioning, when it is to purchaſe the right of binding America in all caſes whatſoever. But to br-be every elector is not neceſſary—two in Pennſylvania, two in New-Jerſey, two in Maryland, and two in North-Carolina are all that is wanted. The other ſtates are all determined for, or againſt us.

The republicans were reconciled to the conſtitution, becauſe it guaranteed to every and each of the ſtates a republican form of government: but that has been got over; John Adams having declared, that "a republican government means any thing or nothing." A fact ſo true and ſo happily expreſſed, that we ſhould be under infinite obligations to the man who made it, if he were otherways a man to be depended on. But he is not, which will be ſeen in due time.

When the federal conſtitution was ratified, the majority of all parties joined in the general joy. The monarchiſts thinking they had gained the firſt ſtep towards royalty; and the republicans imagining they had conſolidated the republic. The firſt ſeſſion or two of congreſs paſſed over with little jarring: but ſuch a ſtate of things could not be expected to continue long in a popular aſſembly. The monarchiſts, on the one hand, began to ſhew a diſpoſition to increaſe the power of the preſident; at the

ſame

ſame time the republicans, jealous of that power, endeavoured to promote the intereſts of the people; whilſt our miniſtry, ever attentive to the intereſts of the empire, thought it proper to attempt to conciliate the minds of Americans towards England and Engliſhmen; againſt whom, that bitter enmity, generated by a long and cruel war, was not by any means abated: and, as a part of the ſame ſyſtem, to ſow the ſeeds of diſcord between Americans and Frenchmen. This could only be done by means of the preſs. It was about this period that I arrived in Philadelphia, where I attended congreſs daily; obtained a little knowledge of the leaders of each party; and meditated on my future method of attack on the republicans; whom I ſoon found, were thoſe who retained the moſt implacable hatred againſt England and Engliſh connections. Happy ſhould I have been, if I could have recommended the anarchy of republicaniſm, to the *virtuous* Americans: but I ſtudied the intereſt of my country. To make the name of Engliſhman a friendly ſound—to recommend an imitation of our government, our faſhions, our propenſities, and finally to make them pay a tribute to England, through the medium of her manufactures, was the object neareſt my heart: for this purpoſe France, Frenchmen, republicaniſm, and all their partizans, were from thence forward to become the objects of my keeneſt ſatire.

And now, my dear countrymen, you who ſhall

ſhall do me the honour to read thoſe works, which were undertaken upon principles of the pureſt patriotiſm, excuſe me, when you find the language ſometimes bordering upon the ſtyle uſed in a certain market near London-bridge, or in a certain pariſh near Tottenham-court-road, and deviating from that urbanity you ſo much admire; for you muſt know, that the ſtyle I have adopted is the ſame originally imported into thoſe ſtates by their illuſtrious forefathers, who were, for the moſt part, emigrants from that celebrated pariſh, and who made that venerable manſion, which ſtood formerly at the top of Snow-hill, their general rendezvous; a ſtyle which ſtill holds its pre-eminence, and takes the lead of every other; and which the ladies of Philadelphia practiſe with a charming grace.

My firſt work was a pamphlet, called, "Obſervations on the Emigration of Doctor Prieſtley." It attracted the public attention, but my bookſeller, a tame, time-ſerving, gooſe of a fellow, robbed me of the profits. My ardour, for the cauſe of my country, did not, however, abate; and I was encouraged to proceed, by ſeveral occurrences which took place at that time, and which ſeemed to promiſe a favourable iſſue to the undertaking. We had, all along reckoned, that if we could get over Waſhington fully into our views, that the buſineſs was more than half done. We were certain that he favoured us; but he could not be puſhed forward

forward to act. He was one of thoſe men that lay watching for favourable opportunities, and did not fail, promptly, to profit by them, when they preſented; but he did not poſſeſs that daring ſpirit, which could create occaſions; neither could he be brought to be open and explicit reſpecting his intentions. His opinions, therefore, were gathered more by inference from his actions, than by verbal or written declarations. The proclamation of neutrality, augured well—but the appointment of one of our warmeſt friends to the important place of ſecretary of the treaſury, was to me an indubitable proof that we might rely on the cautious efforts of Waſhington. His approbation of the ſyſtem of taxation by an exciſe, was another corroborating circumſtance. His manner of appointing Jay, on the celebrated miſſion, confirmed the wavering; and the arts by which a trifling affray was exaggerated into rebellion, we conſidered as a *chef d'œuvre* in political generalſhip. If any doubt ſtill remained of his attachment to our cauſe (monarchy and an alliance with Great Britain), they were completely diſpelled by his ſpeech to congreſs in December, 1794; which is a good paraphraſe on the ſpeech that his majeſty, made to his parliament in 1776, when ſpeaking of his deluded ſubjects in North-America. From all theſe circumſtances it appeared clear to me, that our enemies, the republicans, might be attacked openly and boldly with impunity, I therefore determined to give them no reſt or quarter.

quarter. But as the mode of warfare by pamphleteering was too expenſive as well as inefficacious, by not meeting the eye of the multitude; and apt to grow languid for want of oppoſition, I reſolved to eſtabliſh a daily newſpaper.

It is well known, that at the period I am ſpeaking of, there was not one good paper in the United States, conducted by any man of common capacity; and where there was any abilities, they were all againſt us. The Aurora, a paper which ſupported the republican intereſt, was the only one in which there was the ſhadow of talents; but he was cowardly, and all my art could never bring him out into the open field of argument; not all the abuſe that could be beſtowed on himſelf, his friends, his principles, or even on the memory of old Lightning Rod, his grandfather, could rouſe him into open warfare or to adopt a ſyſtem of defence. His talents, which were, certainly, reſpectable, were confined to an abuſe of the Britiſh and their American adherents, and a defence of the abominable French principles of liberty and equality: from this latter circumſtance, however, I took advantage to repreſent him and his party as penſioners of France; a battery that did great execution; and which was well ſeconded by my *ſoi-disant* friends, Harper, Otis, Rutledge, and Dana, in congreſs. This attack we kept up with unceaſing aſſiduity, until all America was convinced of its truth; and,

and, the Aurora, the name of Franklin, and even the words republic and republican, became odious, and uſed as terms of reproach. If in all my attacks, I had been as well ſeconded as I was in this, and the black cockade buſineſs, (which ſhall be more particularly noticed by and bye) an hereditary firſt magiſtrate might now have quieted America, and an alliance offenſive and defenſive with Great Britain, would have protected that country, from foreign inſults. But what ſhall I ſay! Or what can be ſaid? but that there is no dependance on the word of an American. I imagined that I could place unbounded confidence and certain reliance on Harper, Otis, Dana, Rutledge, and many others in congreſs; on Fenno, Noah Webſter, Ben. Ruſſell, and many more of my fellow labourers, in different parts of the union: but the timid ſlaves will bark, chatter, and ſhew their teeth, with great courage, when little or no oppoſition is made; but the moment they receive a bite or a ſmart ſtroke, which touches them to the quick, they immediately run off *(la queu entre les jambes)* like other ſpaniels. It was this that made Waſhington, the immortal Waſhington himſelf, retire. His retiring from the *buſy ſcenes of public life*, which was blazoned forth in Europe as the moſt heroic action, was only a manœuvre to avoid public ſcrutiny of character. But he is not here meant to be implicated with *thoſe* wretches who deſerted the cauſe, or in the end were lukewarm towards it. He, never thought

of carrying the grand object, by any other means than by calm, peaceable perſuaſion, and by time and patience. The revolution had been gained and independence eſtabliſhed principally by thoſe means; and they were, in his mind, infallible remedies to every political malady; when, therefore, he ſaw that we were determined to take the citadel by ſtorm, he retired; not that he diſliked the object, but the means.

All parties affected to regret the loſs of Waſhington, but none were truly ſorry. His culpable procraſtination and delay in forwarding the happineſs of America, by not giving her an hereditary firſt magiſtrate, when it was believed to be in his power, gave the monarchiſts (who had now taken the appellation of federaliſts) hope, that their views would be better anſwered by John Adams, whom they knew to be more fond of violent meaſures, to gain his ends. His letters, written during the war, were an evidence that he would not heſitate about trifles.

A letter from John Adams, dated Amſterdam, 15th of December, 1780, to Thomas Cuſhing, lieutenant governor of Maſſachuſetts, contains the following paragraph:

" It is true I believe, what you ſuggeſt, that " lord North ſhewed a diſpoſition to give up " the conteſt, but was diverted from it, not " unlikely

" unlikely by the repreſentation of the Ame-
" ricans in London, who, in conjunction with
" their co-adjutors in America, have been
" thorns to us indeed on both ſides of the wa-
" ter: but I think their career might have been
" ſtopped on your ſide, if the executive officers
" had not been too timid in a point which I ſo
" ſtrenuouſly recommended at firſt, namely,
" *to fine, impriſon and hang all inimical to the*
" *cauſe, without favour or affection!* I foreſaw
" the evil that would ariſe from that quarter
" and wiſhed to have ſtopt it——*I would have*
" *hanged my own brother, if he had took a part*
" *with our enemy in this conteſt.*"

This was a ſufficient proof to convince us, that whatever were the objects to be purſued during the adminiſtration of John Adams, they would be purſued with an unfeeling ſeverity. His inaugural ſpeech at the commencement of that moſt extraordinary ſeſſion, was calculated to ſtop the carpings of the republican party, and to elevate our hopes; he might, however, have ſpared his retroſpective reflections upon the unfortunate revolution. Could he not have put America in mind of his great ſervices, without opening thoſe wounds and making them bleed afreſh, which it was his intereſt to heal up? But the old man, is ſo fond of letting the world know that he was a member of that congreſs which declared America independent, that he muſt allude to it on every occaſion. If he had ever been in a more perilous ſituation to

ſerve the republic, it would have been remembered and that forgotten. But John managed his matters ſo well, as never to ſee a ſhot fired in anger.

What alſo ſhould have prevented him from recalling thoſe odious reflections, might have been the remembrance that Jefferſon, his preſent political opponent, was the penman of that declaration.

John was no ſooner elevated to the dignity of preſident, than he longed to ſhew his power, and put his ſchemes in action; an opportunity ſoon offered of calling congreſs together, reſpecting the miſſion to France. On that occaſion I expected no other than a declaration of war againſt that country; and, as a conſequence of that meaſure, an alliance offenſive and defenſive with England. But a declaration of open war, met with ſo much oppoſition from the republicans, that the monarchiſts, with John Adams at their head, were contented with half meaſures; a mongrel ſtate, neither of war nor peace; but which demonſtrated the nullity of the conſtitution, which ſays, Sect. 8. The congreſs ſhall have power—to declare war—Now it is certain that congreſs never did declare war, though they entered into a ſyſtem of defence, which had the appearance of warlike preparations. But, every one knows, that nations may put on a warlike aſpect without being actually engaged in it. Nor did the American

or

or French citizens underſtand that they were at war with each other, until it was declared from the judiciary. A very curious queſtion indeed to come before a court of juſtice, and the firſt time in the hiſtory of nations, that ever war was declared by a judge. A declaration of war, every one knows ought to be a ſolemn and public act, of the executive, that the ſubjects of either power may know the relation they ſtand in to each other: but all our influence not being able to prevail on congreſs to declare war againſt the French, a mean was found to evade the conſtitution, and judge Waſhington has lately, from the bench, as judge Chaſe, in the caſe of Cooper, had done before him, declared, the two countries, France and America, to be at war—inferring *that*, from certain doubtful parts of the acts of congreſs which ought to be as clear as noon day.

I only mention this at preſent, to ſhew, of how little uſe, are thoſe written conſtitutions which have been the boaſt of the democrats, ever ſince written conſtitutions came in faſhion. It would be eaſy for me to ſhew that the principal parts of the conſtitution of the United States have been infringed already; and in a few years, if John Adams continues preſident it will be curious to obſerve into what ſtrange forms he ſhall have twiſted it; and I hope my friend, J. W. Fenno, will ſend us over a picture of the practiſe, that we may compare it with the theory, or written conſtitution.

Already

Already many of the powers veſted in congreſs have been, by them, beſtowed on the preſident. In particular, the power of raiſing and ſupporting armies, is, by an act paſſed by congreſs, transferred to him; and he is made the ſole judge of the neceſſity of raiſing a regular army, to the extent of 10,000 men; and without any reſtrictions as to the number of volunteers who ſhould arm and equip themſelves at their own expenſe.

The conſtitution alſo gives power to congreſs, "to provide and maintain a navy:"—but they have authoriſed the preſident to accept, by way of loan, of any number of ſhips that may be offered to him. The conſtitution has alſo given power to congreſs "to borrow money on the credit of the United States:"—but they have given the preſident power to borrow 8,000,000 of dollars, without any limitation as to the amount of the intereſt to be paid on the loan. Thus, congreſs have by theſe different acts, transferred the power over the purſe and the ſword, veſted in them by the conſtitution, to the preſident, and ſhewn us, what we always predicted, the abſurdity of written conſtitutions.

The oppoſition to the war ſyſtem, by the republican members in congreſs, was too ſtrong to warrant John Adams in going any greater lengths than he did; and too weak not to give great hopes that he would finally ſucceed; what

what could not be accompliſhed by fair argument, was attempted by alarm and proſecutions. In raiſing the firſt, our friend Harper had an excellent talent. The public mind was kept in ſuſpence, while he was purſuing his threads and clues—and no ſooner had he loſt the end of one clue, than he found another, which led him into tubs with falſe bottoms, ladies toilettes, and tailors ſhops.

That political engine which we call addreſſes, and which has been ſo ſucceſsfuly uſed here, to give a bias to public opinion, was reſorted to, and found extremely efficacious; and, to give a more ſudden impulſe to our ſyſtem, I fell upon the lucky idea of mounting the black or Engliſh cockade, in oppoſition to the tri-coloured one, worn by the French. I was immediately followed by all the Engliſh party, the federaliſts, and all the weak minded and timorous, even among the republicans. I had hopes by this means of bringing matters to a criſis; and did not doubt, but an engagement would take place, between the men with, and thoſe without cockades. In this, however, I was deceived. The republicans were determined to remain quiet, notwithſtanding the inſults and provocations we conſtantly gave them, at every opportunity.

At this period the various parties in the Britiſh intereſt, ſeconded each others endeavours with great animation. The preſident let ſlip no

no opportunity of villifying the French and of recommending ſtrong meaſures, ſtanding armies, navies and national debts. In congreſs, the ſame ideas were re-echoed, and all his meaſures carried, againſt a feeble reſiſtance from thoſe chatterers, Nicholſon, Gallatin, Livingſton, &c. The judges were exerting themſelves, in many parts of the union, againſt the licentiouſneſs of the preſs; and in caſes where their power failed, we had ſome active armed citizens, who knew how to do us ſummary juſtice by club law. The commiſſioners had arrived from France, after performing that curious farce of a negociation, which has not its equal in the annals of diplomacy. Indeed every thing was ripe for bold and decided meaſures. An open, irreconcilable, and exterminating war againſt France: an alliance offenſive and defenſive with Great Britain: John Adams appointed preſident for life, and the ſenate authorized to chooſe a family in which that dignity ſhould be hereditary. Theſe ſhould have been the meaſures at that time purſued, while republicans were objects of contempt and their principles almoſt univerſally exploded: when, in fact, they could make no reſiſtance. How often have I dwelt upon this enlivening ſubject to Harper and the reſt, who all approved of the project; and I believe warmly advocated it, with the old man, who was to act a principal part in the drama. This old gentleman, though extremely anxious for its ſucceſs, wiſhed, that other people ſhould take the burden of the labour,

bour, and for that purpoſe called the council of Trenton. To that aſſembly, unfortunately for us, was called a certain cautious chief, whoſe approbation was by ſome thought abſolutely neceſſary. He was, as uſual, for ſlow and circumſpective meaſures, and could not be brought to ſee the neceſſity of an immediate rupture with France, a coalition with England, or the propriety of then introducing an hereditary firſt magiſtrate, againſt the ſenſe of the republicans, whom he ſtill deemed too formidable to affront. The ſword in one hand, and the olive branch in the other, was his favourite maxim.

Among thoſe who attended this celebrated council, not one joined with him in opinion. But the old gentleman, and ſome others, thought it abſolutely neceſſary to yield to it; becauſe no ſcheme of ſuch magnitude could be accompliſhed without his approbation. His man Timothy, and Alexander Hamilton, however, did not think the opinion or approbation of one man, however reſpectable, a ſufficient reaſon for giving up a project, on which the future glory of themſelves and America ſo much depended; and have therefore, ever ſince, held the old gentleman in ſovereign contempt for his culpable indeciſion.

Three commiſſioners were accordingly diſpatched on another miſſion to France, but it is thought they have ſecret orders not to finiſh

the negociation until the event of the approaching election for preſident be known.

In the mean while, thoſe who expected a rupture with France, and every friend to Great Britain throughout the ſtates, ſeeing themſelves only trifled with, ſlackened their exertions: the declenſion of our cauſe was the natural conſequence, and the republicans, raiſing their heads, began to triumph in their turn. The firſt convincing proof we had of their ſtrength was the election of chief juſtice M'Kean, a violent hot-headed jacobin, to be governor of Pennſylvania. As I had always looked forward to that election, as the touchſtone by which I could beſt try the ſtrength of the parties, I had reſolved, if he ſucceeded, to retire from America, as conſidering my exertions no longer uſeful, and myſelf liable to frequent proſecutions from the vindictive ſpirit of my triumphant enemies: and my readers will allow I had no reaſon to place any reliance on a Philadelphia jury. I therefore thought it prudent to retire from the fangs of jacobiniſm, where I could expect no mercy, and only ſtaid in New-York till I could collect ſome of my outſtanding debts. During my ſhort ſtay in that city I was determined not to be idle. I had an account to ſettle with the American Sangrado. It was but juſtice to myſelf and the world to ſet that matter in a clear point of view; as through the machinations of my enemies, I had no opportunity of doing it on the trial. I therefore wrote my five firſt numbers of the "Ruſh-Light."

It is impoſſible for me to ſay, what will cure that fever which prevails every autumn in a greater or leſs degree in the towns of America, but of this we are certain, that *exceſſive* bleeding is not the cure; and there is great reaſon to believe, that *exceſſive* bleeding changes the common remitting or even intermitting fever, into that rapid fatal fever which is common to hot countries; and I ſtill inſiſt upon it, that I do good to mankind, when I expoſe that ſyſtem from which no good has ariſen; and the doctor who ſo obſtinately and culpably perſiſts in it; although it is out of my power, as all the doctors ſay it is out of theirs, to preſcribe a certain ſpecific.

In returning to the boſom of my country, I thought it would be doing ſome of my countrymen an eſſential ſervice, by giving them an idea of the people, the parties, and preſent ſtate of America. For a long period of years they will be our beſt cuſtomers, whatever may be the trifling changes in their political affairs at home.

The merchants, on the one hand, and the holders of unoccupied back lands, on the other, will prevent, for the next century at leaſt, a good ſyſtem of huſbandry, or the arts, from being eſtabliſhed in America.

The holders of back lands are endeavouring, by every means in their power, to attract the

current of population into different directions, through a country of boundleſs extent; ſo that the population of the interior will never be ſo much condenſed as to make manual labour cheap, or favourable for manufacturies, and an improved ſtate of agriculture; and, every body knows, that the ſea ports of any country are unfavourable ſituations for the arts (except the *fine arts*, to a certain degree).

Beſides, it is the intereſt of the American merchants to prevent their eſtabliſhment.

It is more fortunate for England than America, that the latter poſſeſſes ſuch unbounded territory. "Where land is ſo eaſily obtained, it is never managed with due attention. The incentives to the exerciſe of ſkill are taken away. After having exhauſted one ſpot, the farmer removes to another: grounds which once carried hiccory and oak, abandoned in their impoveriſhed ſtate, return to nature, and bear ſecondary foreſts of pine. Local attachments are diſſolved, and a vagabond life becomes familiar to the inhabitants." There is but a ſhade of difference betwixt a back woodſman and an Indian; and if it were left for me to ſay which was the ſuperior being, I ſhould determine it in favour of the Indian. If I were to conſider the extenſive country of America as a large eſtate, the property of an individual, I ſhould not heſitate to tell that individual that more of his lands were annually laid by, as worn out,

out, than were brought into an improved ſtate of huſbandry; and that he was like ſome of our young lords, who cut down their woods, the ſavings of an hundred years, to ſpend at the gaming table.

Theſe are circumſtances under which America lie, that cannot be prevented by any government. Their population *muſt* be diffuſed over the interior; their lands half cultivated, and their clothing imported from abroad. That nation, therefore, which can ſell the cheapeſt, and give the greateſt credit to the merchant, will always have the preference.

"Manufactures cannot live, much leſs "thrive, without honour, fidelity, punctuality, "public and private faith, a ſacred reſpect to "property, and the moral obligation of pro-"miſes and contracts; virtues and habits "which never did, and never will generally "prevail in any populous nation, without a "deciſive, as well as an intelligent and honeſt "government. The ſcience of political eco-"nomy, is but a late ſtudy, and is not yet ge-"nerally underſtood among us." (Americans.)

So ſays John Adams, their preſent preſident; and, in this, we perfectly agree in opinion.

TO THE

PEOPLE

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WHILST I lived among you, I was conſidered by one half the Americans, and thoſe the moſt intelligent, as one of the beſt friends to the two countries; and by the factious jacobins, men of narrow and ſelfiſh views, as the greateſt poſſible enemy of America.

If I had been your real enemy, would I have given myſelf the trouble to adviſe you againſt dangerous connections? Is it a mark of enmity to a young man when you ſhew him the depravity of the company he hankers after, or warn him of the dreadful conſequences, which is likely to enſue, from a connection with athieſts, murderers and rebels! A young man of no experience might probably think you his enemy, and treat you with diſdain and contempt, for your good intentions; but that does not alter the nature of the thing. You would be ſorry

that

that your admonitions were ineffectual, and conſole yourſelf with a good conſcience, and the pleaſing reflection of having done your duty. This is exactly my caſe with reſpect to you. I ſaw the dreadful precipice over which you were placed, and juſt ready to precipitate yourſelves. I ſaw alſo, the gay ſcenes of wealth, riches, and proſperity, which awaited you, if you would only retrace your ſteps. I therefore warned you of the one, and invited you to the other. I warned you of engaging with regicide France. I pointed out the ignorance and ſtupidity of ſome of your own citizens, who encouraged ſuch a connection; and the villany of ſome foreign vipers whom you nouriſhed in your boſom, only to ſting you to the heart. Did I not daily, and without ceaſing, admoniſh you againſt ſuch connections, which I was ſure would bring you to ruin and diſgrace; and, in the moſt friendly manner, adviſed you to join cordially and affectionately, forgetting all animoſities, with that powerful nation, who nurſed you in your tender infancy, and reared you into manhood; protecting you at all times; and driving far from you thoſe inſidious neighbours, the French, who, in poſſeſſion of Canada and Louiſiana, would have been a thorn in your ſide, and a ſcourge to your back forever? was it not my wiſh that you ſhould join with that nation, who, ſpeaking the ſame language, is formed by nature to be a laſting friend; and who has only the power, by her outſtretched arm, the navy, to protect you from foreign inſult?

Ungrateful

Ungrateful Pennſylvanians! was it for theſe unequivocal teſtimonies of my ſincere wiſhes for your happineſs, that I was proſecuted, my life threatened, and finally obliged to leave the country! Could you not have ſenſe enough to perceive that my admonitions were preferable to the ravings of that United Iriſh Aurora man, Duane, the advocate of regicides, the enemy of his own country and the juſtifier of rebellion? As far as his conduct regards myſelf I forgive him; we ſtood on even ground, and fought with the ſame weapons; but that you ſhould withdraw your protection from one who volunteered in your ſervice, and haſten to ſubſcribe to the calumnies of mine and your own enemy, fills me with aſtoniſhment. I, whom, at one time, all Philadelphia, nay all America, revered and looked up to, as the oracle of truth; without once deviating from the path of rectitude, which I had laid down for my conduct, was by you, ungrateful people, ſhamefully abandoned. How many proteſtations and promiſes of eternal friendſhip, protection and encouragement have I not received from the leaders of your federal party, from the thunderer Dayton, in congreſs, down to Wharton, your thundering mayor. Thoſe falſe promiſes, and deceitful proteſtations, without giving me pain, convinces me that there can be no ſteadineſs or virtue in a republic; and, if there be any truth in the maxim of Monteſquieu that "*virtue* muſt be the foundation

dation of republics," yours muſt ſoon fall, ſince it is without a foundation.

Whilſt I publiſhed PORCUPINE'S GAZETTE, three objects ſeemed to be neceſſary to the reeſtabliſhment of your virtue and happineſs, and conſequently, claimed my attention. Firſt, A powerful executive, with a ſtanding army at his command—Secondly, Hoſtility againſt France, and a deteſtation of her crimes—Thirdly, An alliance with Great Britain, and an imitation of her probity and good faith. I ſhall now, perhaps for the laſt time, touch a little on each of theſe ſubjects—and firſt, I ſhall aſk, of what uſe is a government or laws, without power in the one, to enforce the other? my opponents urge, that a militia is equal to every purpoſe of defence or offence. If ſo, it muſt be conſtituted upon far different principles from that of the United States, now become confederated.

One of the principal dangers to be apprehended under your government, is, the rebellion of one or more of the ſtates, who may chance to have governors, or legiſlatures, inimical to the federal government. In that caſe, what dependance could a preſident place in officers of the militia appointed by ſuch a governor? Is it not within our remembrance, when two rebellions broke out in Pennſylvania, that the governor was ſtrongly ſuſpected of abetting thoſe rebellions? Neither Waſhington

nor Adams durſt place the command of the troops employed in the expeditions againſt thoſe rebels, in the governor of the ſtate; nor even truſt too many of the Pennſylvania militia on thoſe expeditions. For that reaſon, the militia of the neighbouring ſtates were haraſſed with a long march, of ſeveral hundred miles, to quell rebellions, which would have been completely cruſhed by half a regiment of regular troops, under the abſolute control of the preſident, and ſtationed in ſome central ſituation upon the Suſquehannah, ready to march to any quarter of the ſtate. Thus 16 regiments of foot and 16 troops of horſe, one for every ſtate, would completely hold in check all diſorders, and make the will of congreſs implicitly obeyed through the union. At preſent, your militia can only be uſed as a political engine; and can anſwer no other than factious purpoſes. Why do we ſee, in a country boaſting of equality, a ſet of citizens intrude themſelves upon the public, as the ſelect defenders of their country? When a man has arms in his hands, the tranſition from a defender to an offender is ſo eaſy, that no man ought to be ſuffered to volunteer himſelf in that buſineſs. It would ſeem as if national virtue was aſleep, and the maſs of the people dilatory in their duty, when volunteers are wanted. Have you ever read in any book which treats of liberty and equal rights, that volunteering is a republican principle? If you admit of volunteers to *defend* the laws, why not admit of volunteers to adminiſter them,

or

even to make them? If volunteer ſoldiers, why not volunteer conſtables, ſheriffs, governors, and preſidents? why all this trouble about election, or why boaſt of a repreſentative government, when, in ſome inſtances, theſe volunteer ſoldiers may decide the fate of the ſtates? Can you not perceive, O ſilly Americans! that in theſe volunteer corps, lies the germ of ſedition and diſorganization; and, that they are the tools of faction? To render an armed force of public utility, there muſt be harmony and conſent of parts; but what harmony can ſubſiſt betwixt the preſidential volunteer guards, under Macpherſon, and M'Kean's guards, under Duane? But the preſident, too ſenſible of the jarring elements of which theſe volunteer corps are compoſed, I hear, has diſbanded Macpherſon's blues, hoping that M'Kean would do the ſame by the republican blues. But M'Kean has not ſo much politeneſs. The cunning old fox thinks, that the preſident may re-aſſume his arms in another form, before he could be prepared, and therefore is determined not to be lulled into a fatal ſecurity.

But why ſhould a regular army be ſuch a bugbear to America? or why do you wiſh to have a preſident without power? Would it not be as unreaſonable to expect a ſchoolmaſter could do his duty without a rod, or a coachman without his whip, as a preſident without an army? As long as it is in the nature of ſome men to be refractory, ſo long muſt the government have

a power able to reſtrain them. Hear what John Adams himſelf ſays upon this ſubject. "If "there is one truth to be collected from the "hiſtory of all ages, it is this; that the peo- "ple's rights and liberties and the *democra-* "*tical* mixture in a conſtitution, can never be "preſerved, without a *ſtrong* executive." And what can make him *ſtrong*, but an army, a regular army, entirely at his command? The militia to him is nothing, officered as it is, by election; and whoſe ſelect volunteer corps may be every one of them his avowed enemies. How would Iſrael Iſrael like to have his ſervants appointed by Robert Wharton? Or how could he truſt or depend upon ſervants ſo appointed?

Duane may, perhaps, tell you, that by an army at the devotion of the preſident, you might loſe your liberties. Yes, you would loſe the liberty of doing miſchief, of being ſeditious, and inſulting your rulers as you do now on every occaſion; nay the very ſuffering ſuch a man as Duane among you is a continual, a ſtanding inſult to the preſident; but ſurely an army would never rob you of the liberty of cultivating your farms, of bringing your produce to market, or ſending your ſhips to ſea.

No. A file of muſketeers might, indeed, ſometimes aſſiſt the collector in collecting the taxes; but then, you may readily perceive that ſuch a ſeaſonable precaution, would have effectually prevented two very formidable inſurrections.

rections. A ſmall force might be very judiciouſly applied at elections, to keep the peace and prevent thouſands of barrels from being burnt, and the city endangered by fire; but he muſt be a very captious jacobin indeed, who would pretend to ſay that the right of ſuffrage could be thereby infringed. And if a ſerjeants' command, ſhould be ordered to attend in the courts of juſtice, to ſilence that buzzing noiſe too frequent on trials for ſedition, &c. it would certainly forward the cauſe of juſtice. How ſhameful it is to ſee a reverend judge, in the middle of a pleading, be obliged to bawl out to the ſovereign people, with face as red as ſcarlet, and eyes flaſhing fire; to the diſgrace of juſtice, the bench and the laws? All this would be remedied by having three or four file of ſoldiers diſperſed through the hall. Even the ravings of the democrats in congreſs might be kept in check, by a few grenadiers advancing *au pas de charge*, and headed by a Macpherſon or a Miercken.

Many are the advantages which would reſult from a ſtrong executive. Harmony and peace would then reign from Vermont to Georgia; and not a whiſper of diſcontent would be heard through the wide extent of the union. Not a ſingle jacobin would then be found to diſturb the harmony of the ſocial orders; and the country would be no longer bored with dull, ſtupid and lying gazettes. But you are afraid of the expenſe. What! an extenſive

and

and populous nation, afraid of the expenſe of ſupporting a ſmall military eſtabliſhment! you ought to be ever aſhamed to mention the expenſe, when you know its utility. Twenty thouſand infantry and ten thouſand cavalry, with a train of artillery in proportion, would be quite ſufficient to make a beginning. This would be nothing, eſpecially when you ſhall know that I intend to recommend to you a total direlection of a navy. When I come to recommend to you an intimate connection with Great Britain, it will be ſeen that a navy can be of no uſe to America, becauſe that of Great Britain would be ſufficient for all the purpoſes of both nations.

If you will not be convinced by this reaſoning, of the neceſſity and propriety of ſtrengthening the executive arm, you would not be convinced though one roſe from the dead.

Let me, however, intreat you to ſhun all connections with that den of monſters, France. Their crimes and impieties are of a contagious nature; and are capable of infecting the political and moral atmoſphere of every nation. Why do you run from the yellow fever? Have you not always found your beſt ſafety in flight? And is it not the ſame in the moral as in the natural world? Attend to the old maxim, "Evil communication corrupts good manners." And although *your* manners cannot be corrupted, your morals may. It may be ſaid, indeed, with too much truth, that you can ſwindle, deceive,

deceive, lie and be ungrateful; and that theſe peccadilloes are become ſo common, as not to wound the conſcience of an American. But you are not yet cannibals! you have not yet arrived at that degree of turpitude, as to take a pleaſure in killing and eating the man who ſhould differ from you in opinion—you might empty his purſe—witneſs the 5000 dollar jury buſineſs—but the extent of your vengeance to his perſon would never, I apprehend, go beyond gouging out his two eyes. But do you think you would be able to retain your *virtue* after a connection with regicide France? No! inſtead of thoſe ſlight puniſhments inflicted upon Duane, by Miercken, or on the printer at Reading, by the Lancaſter heroes, or the ſpitting fracas in congreſs, in the event of a league with France, on ſuch occaſions we ſhould have heard of Duane, Dallas, Leib, Coxe, Lyon, Gallatin, &c. making a proceſſion to the guillotine; and in a month afterwards, Cobbett, Harper, Otis, Griſwold and Fenno going the ſame road. You are bad; and for that very reaſon, you would be ſooner made worſe, by bad company. As a proof that you are apt ſcholars at a bad leſſon, you may remember how ſoon gambling became a favourite amuſement with you, when it was introduced in 1795-6 by the French ariſtocrats. You not only fell rapidly into the horrid vice of gaming, but you ſoon excelled your exemplars; for they practiſed it only to paſs the time, having nothing elſe to do; and always played fair; win or loſe they were peaceable.

peaceable. But as for you, ſo eager was your thirſt for play, that you neglected your buſineſs; —gambled with other people's money;—and, when you were on the loſing ſide, a quarrel was generally raiſed, to confuſe the keeper of the bank, that he might be robbed with greater facility.

Did not the women alſo follow, in their awkward manner, the vile faſhions of the French ladies? ſo that your ſervant girls, in whom ſome years ago one might obſerve a decent ſimplicity, were, in 96, all tricked off like French actreſſes, or *filles de joie;* and the ſtreets of Philadelphia put me in mind of the Palais Royal.

If in theſe things you made ſuch ſudden acquirements, why will you truſt yourſelves in a treaty with that nation? In an intercourſe thus opened, and the ſubjects of either country paſſing and repaſſing, how will it be poſſible to prevent an inundation of French principles? Did not doctor Logan import ſo much of that vile commodity, on his return from his jacobinic miſſion, that I (and I believe every other honeſt man) durſt hardly walk the ſtreets for three months afterwards? Such an impulſe did it give, to the latent jacobinic ſpirit diffuſed over the country.

Preſervation from French principles, French vices, and French diſeaſes, are not the only reaſons which ſhould induce you to avoid French

French connections; you ought to avoid offending that power, who can give you the greateſt aſſiſtance, or annoyance, in the event of a war. France, now become a republic, can no longer aſſiſt you, as ſhe did formerly under the monarchy; ſhe had then a formidable navy, which, with that of Spain, nearly balanced that of Great Britain. At preſent her navy is totally annihilated, except a few old hulks, ſo rotten as to be unfit for ſervice, lying in the ports of Breſt and Toulon, and which would ſink with the firſt gale of wind.

At the end of the war, France, without a navy, will be incapable of holding a connection with any diſtant part of the globe. How are the few merchant ſhips ſhe has, to be protected? They may clear out for the Eaſt-Indies, China, the Weſt-Indies, or America, but they will infallibly arrive in a Britiſh port.

So, you ſee, that without a navy they are incapable, (to uſe the words of our virtuous miniſter) "to maintain the cuſtomary relations of peace and friendſhip." It is not only imprudent and impolitic, but impoſſible, to form a laſting connection with republican France; ſhe muſt dwindle down to a third rate power among the nations; and, in that ſtate, ſurrounded as ſhe is by powerful neighbours, ſhe will be peckt at, from time to time, till at laſt her name will be blotted out of the map of Europe.

We may calculate the progreſs of her downfal by what ſhe has loſt in this war: an empire in the Eaſt-Indies: another in the Weſt; and the riches of another empire, in the loſs of her trade; ſo that we may fairly ſay, without exaggeration, that ſhe has loſt three-fourths of her former greatneſs. And this is the nation you would form a connection with. In your private concerns no one could charge you with ſuch inconſiſtency, or imprudence. Who are there in Philadelphia, who would truſt a man a ſingle dollar, if it were known that he intended to take the benefit of the bankrupt act? And yet, though you know France has become bankrupt, nothing can perſuade you from courting her alliance!

Would it not be much more to your intereſt as individuals, and your aggrandizement as a nation, to court the favour of Great Britain, who, commanding the ocean with her fleet, holds, as it were, the deſtinies of the world in her hands. If you were to be invaded by France or Spain, fromLouiſiana, her myrmidons would pour to your aſſiſtance from Canada; and if the black nations from the Antilles were to undertake a buccaneering expedition from St. Domingo, how ſoon would his majeſty's fleet, always ready on the North-eaſt coaſts of America, be able to give a good account of theſe marauders.

But the ſaving, which would accrue to the United

United States, in the event of a union with England, is a ſubject which above all others merits your attention, a ſubject too, to which true born Americans can never turn a deaf ear. I need not remind you of the immenſe ſums your paltry navy has already coſt you; a navy which would periſh in two months, if Great Britain only frowned upon it. But ſhe is merciful. She wiſhes to bring you to your ſenſes, rather by common reaſon, time and patience, than by the *ultimo ratio regum*. Thoſe great ſums ſquandered upon a navy, might every farthing of it be ſaved; for the moſt ſhallow politician among you, muſt know, that the Britiſh fleet is more than ſufficient to protect the trade of both countries, and to annihilate any fleet in exiſtence, or prevent the creation of one contemplated by any nation.——But, as this ſubject may be touched upon more at large in a future Ruſh-Light, I muſt for the preſent bid you adieu.

WILLIAM COBBETT.

London, Auguſt 30, 1800.

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NOTIFICATIONS

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